



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

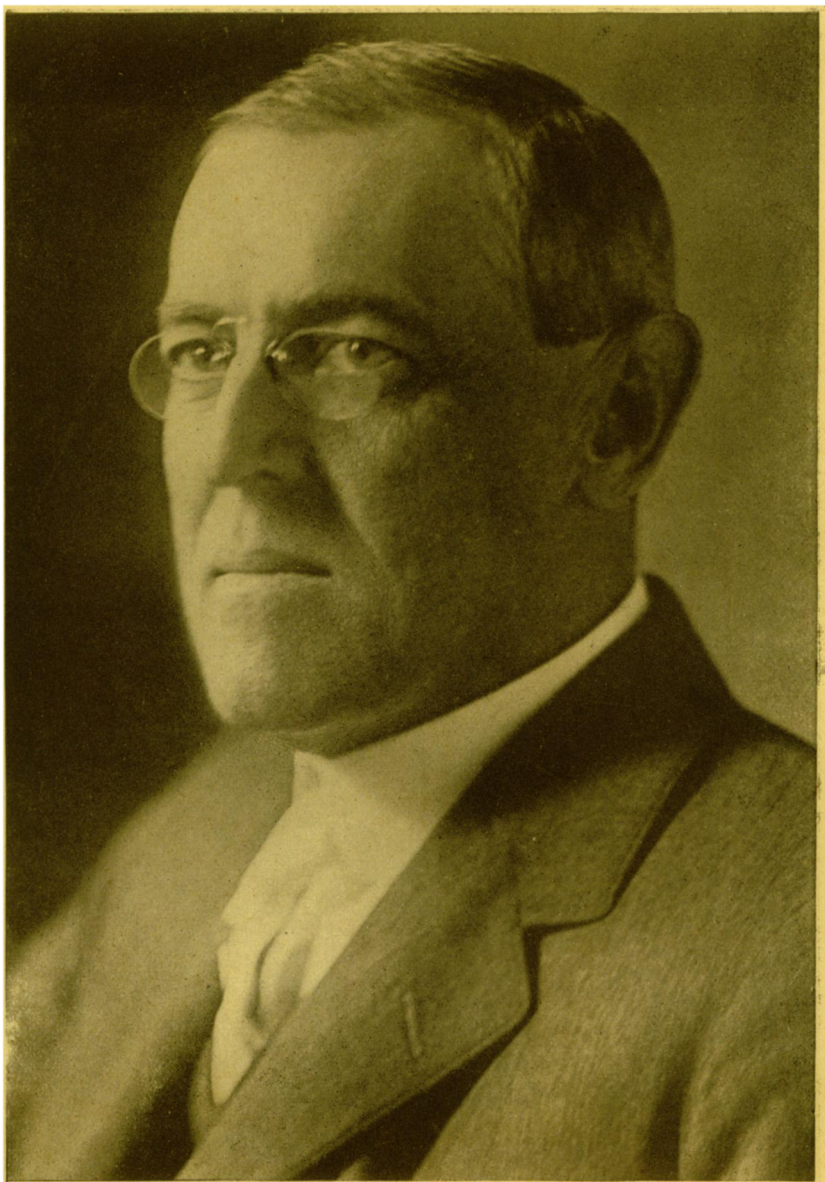
This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

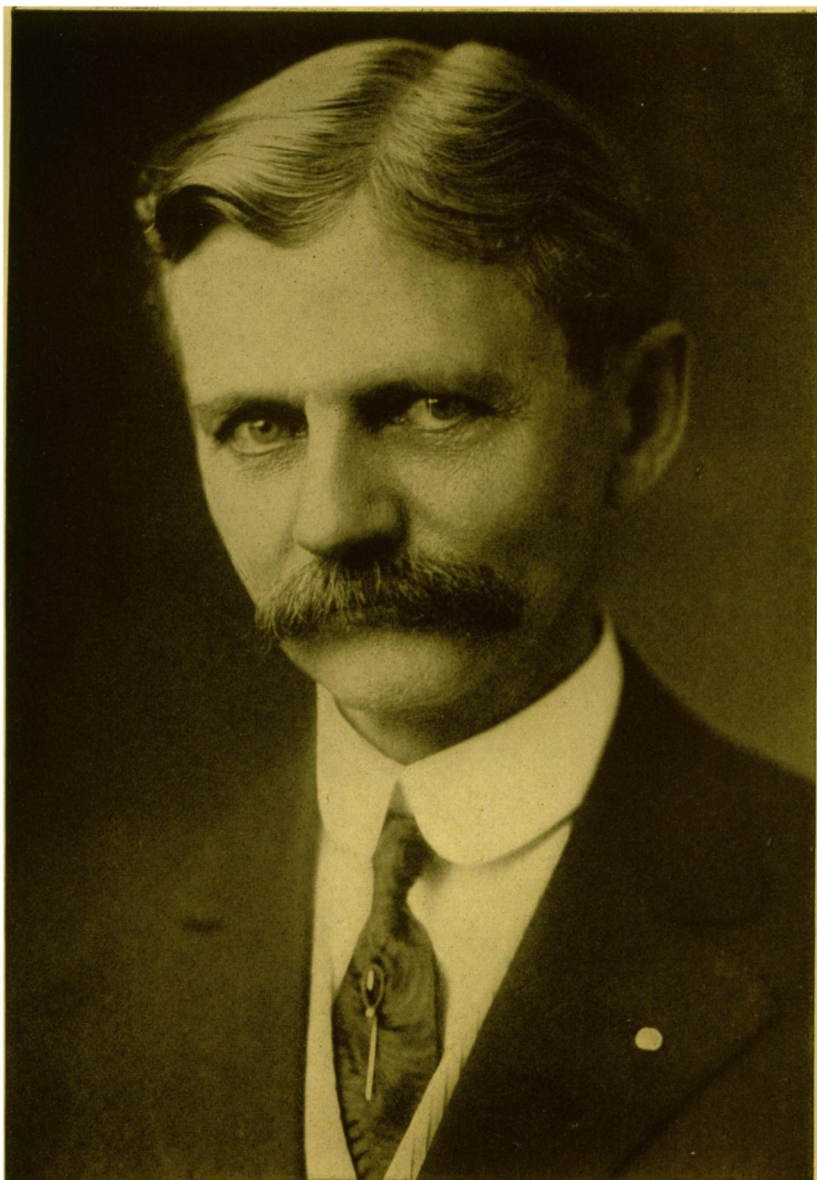
Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



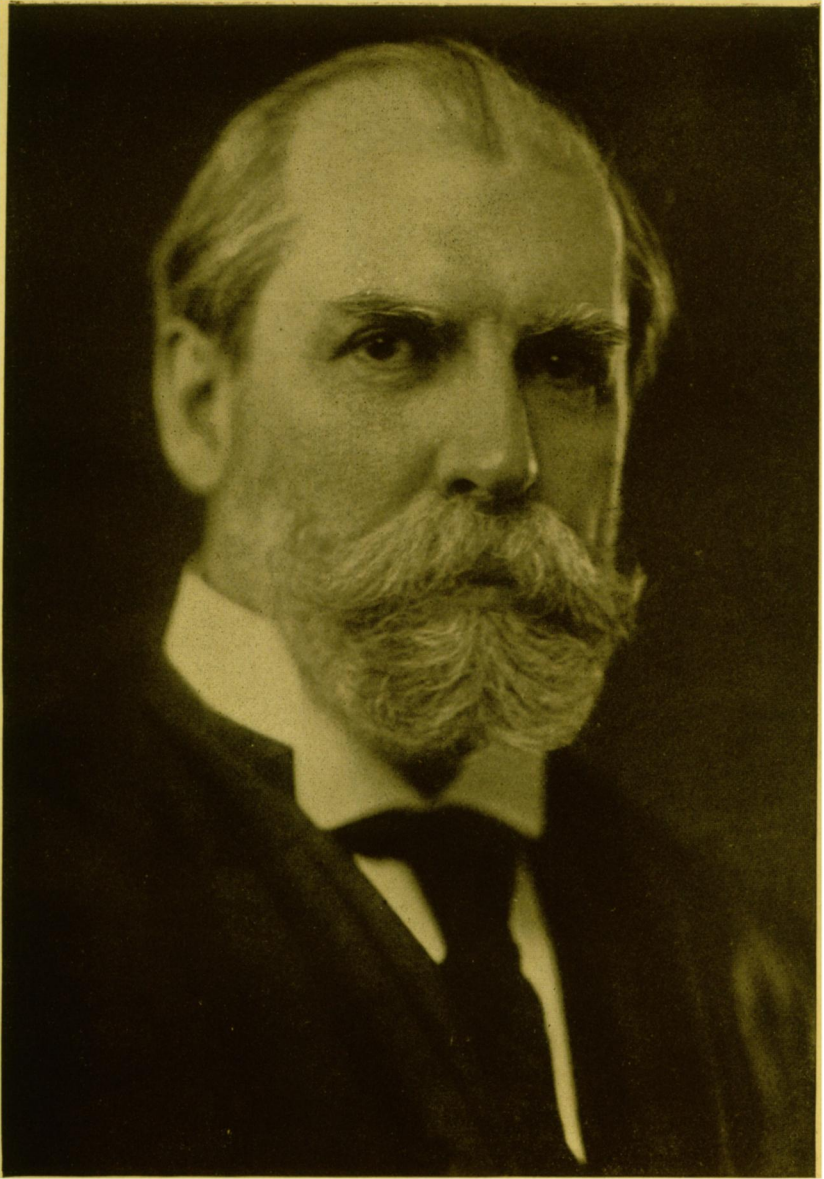
(C) by Harris & Ewing

WOODROW WILSON



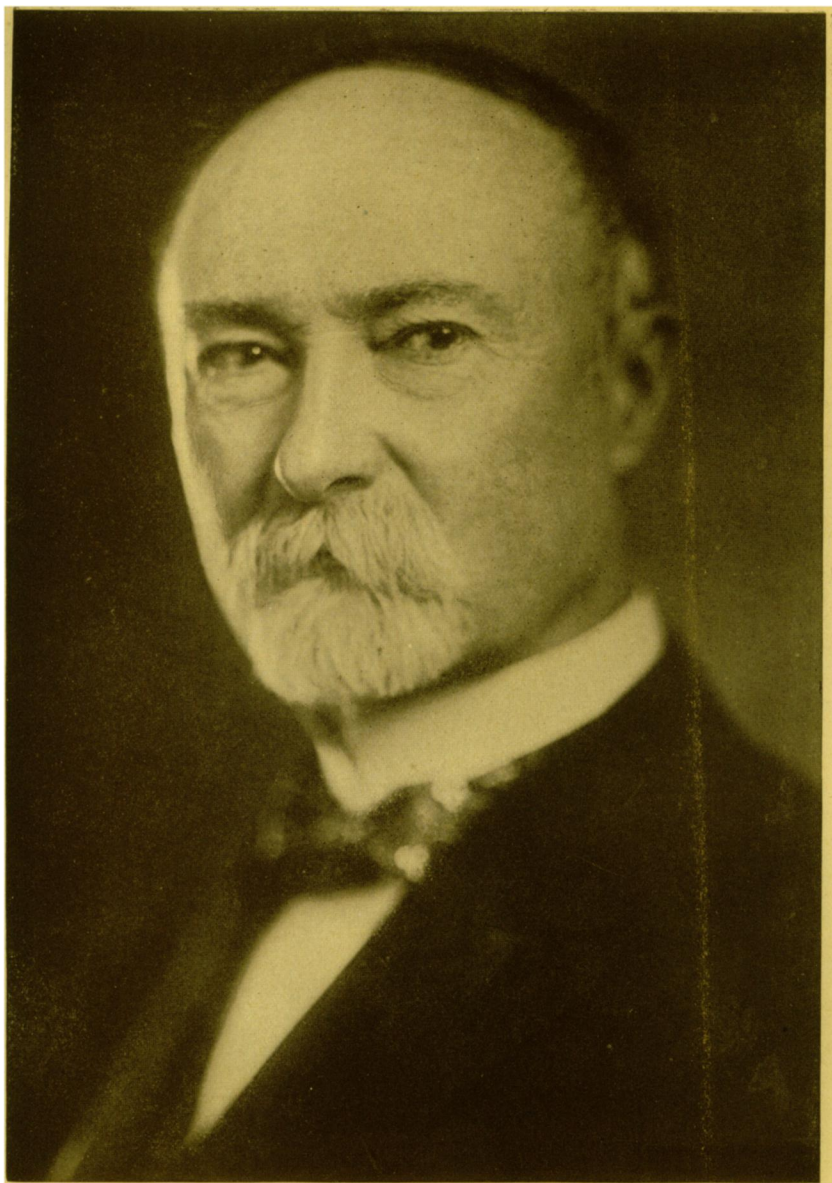
(C) by Moffett Studio

THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL



(C) by Harris & Ewing

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES



(C) by Harris & Ewing

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

JULY, 1916

THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

BY THE EDITOR

THE Republican Convention was impressive rather than interesting. There was no beating of tomtoms, no clanging of rattles, no toting of banners, no persistent stamping of feet and no "We want Jimmy" or "Billy" or "Sammy" or anybody. The inevitable and irrepressible foolish woman who shrieked herself into hysterics over nothing in particular evoked only yawns. Nobody even inquired who she was or whether she was married or single or where she got the flag for the envelopment of her rotundity. The only really notable gallery person was a dear little lad in white who solemnly dropped to his knees when Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler rose to speak and wondered why they did not pray over him as they had over Mr. Hilles and Senator Harding. His extreme youth and perfect innocence, of course, constituted his excuse; and yet those in the immediate vicinity could not but realize that, by his pretty error, he was typifying the spirit of the occasion. The brilliant descriptive writers of the daily Press, headed by that incomparable driver, William Jennings Bryan, sadly remarked the lack of enthusiasm whose synonym is noise gradually subsiding and then at intervals determinedly rekindled for record-breaking purposes.

It was not that species of gathering. A single attentive glance sufficed to convince any observer of experience that

there was a body of nearly two thousand resolute men, drawn from the greatest citizenry of the world, intent upon performance of what they should consider to be their duty and fully alive to their obligation. We have beheld many assemblages, in great National conventions,—many of the Democratic party dominated from the South more picturesque; many of the Republican party in corrals, vernacularly speaking, horse-high and hog-tight; but never one so obviously of the sober, independent, original stock of the Republic. One could but feel that there were sons worthy of sires who held their Freeman's Oath as no less sacred than their religious faith. In these troublous days, to a lover of his country who had begun to fear that the rock might be quivering under the Nation, it was a heartening spectacle.

And the event justified the hope. It was well enough for the Temporary Chairman, speaking as a partisan, to exult over what he was pleased to call the "reconsecration" of the Republican party; but, while wishing to avoid even the seeming of skepticism, we cannot escape the recollection of terms no less solemnly uttered upon like occasions quickly proving to have been the sheerest cant. The splendid organization which, after having played the chief part in saving the Union, became sordid and greedy and made prey of the people, may or may not now be able to rededicate itself to true public service; we do not know. What we do perceive clearly is that, reconsecrated or not, it is reconstituted. Of the 986 delegates to this convention only 175 were members of the convention of 1912. It was, therefore, in substance, an assemblage of fresh representatives of a resuscitated party. And that is why it would not be guided by bosses, would not be subject to dictation, would not abide either compromise or demagoguery, would not accept as a candidate any man supposed to represent any one interest or any one class and did demand and obtain the one man who personified beyond all others the Will of the People. For that reason and for that alone, barring the universally conceded excellence of the choice, we rejoice in the nomination for President of Charles Evans Hughes.

We shall not bore our readers with a recital of the various episodes in Chicago which have been depicted in minute detail and with a fair degree of accuracy by the nimble penmen of the daily Press. There was not much fun. The Republicans, as we have noted, took life most seriously and

the Progressives, as we anticipated, merely held a wake under the direction of Undertaker George W. Perkins. Senator Harding looked like McKinley and spoke blandly; Governor Whitman and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler presented the names of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root respectively with admirable force and dignity and Senator Lodge broke all records for versatility by nominating Weeks, voting for Roosevelt, and offering the motion to make the nomination of Hughes unanimous. Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock stubbed his toe at the outset but regained his equilibrium with noteworthy alacrity and rendered no small service. Two others whose unobtrusive effectiveness should not pass unrecorded are Mr. Andrew B. Humphrey of New York and Governor R. Livingston Beekman of Rhode Island, whose entrance into the National field presages well for his political future.

But the king-pin of the whole affair was Winthrop Murray Crane. Many months ago we directed attention to the exceptional sagacity and wide vision of this extraordinary man. Of all the conspicuous members of the so-called Old Guard, now happily shorn of power, he alone read aright the signs of the times, shaped his course accordingly and emerged from a most difficult and delicate situation, mastered by himself with consummate skill, with immensely enhanced prestige and without the loss of a friend. Since William C. Whitney successfully withstood the desperate efforts of the Hill-Gorman alliance in 1892, there has been no such exhibition of courage, determination, and tact as that by Mr. Crane which in the early hours of the morning of Saturday, June 10th, made sure the calling of Mr. Hughes upon the next ballot.

That we did not misjudge Our Colonel when, last month, we pronounced as "the acme of absurdity" the fond anticipation of Administration leaders that he would strive for the perpetuation of a Government which he considered ignoble by conniving at the defeat of Mr. Hughes is evidenced by the event. His futile proposal of Senator Lodge we can only regard as a sincere, though pitiable ill-timed tribute to a lifelong friend and consequently as negligible in consideration. That he missed a rare opportunity to win public acclaim by declaring promptly for Mr. Hughes was, we have no doubt, as apparent to himself as to others, but it is only fair and reasonable to attribute his hesitancy—for that is all it was—to his sense of loyalty to those of his devoted

adherents who were suffering pangs of grievous disappointment and required time to adjust their hopes to an unchangeable condition. It is with unalloyed satisfaction that we repeat that "Theodore Roosevelt as President never did and never could render so great a service to his country as he is now rendering as a patriot" and that, with earnest prayers for his well-being, we proclaim him the First Citizen of the Republic. May he long continue, in his own spirited phrase, "like Agag" to "arch my neck and walk lightly," and may he never meet the direful fate of that unhappy monarch!

We had to laugh at the amazement of those who had forgotten that long ago, while Governor of New York, Charles Evans Hughes proved himself a man of promptness and decision. Would he resign? Would he accept? These were the questions which trembled upon the lips of the disingenuous. Quickly came the answers:

TO THE PRESIDENT: I hereby resign the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I am, sir, respectfully yours,

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

And the President replied with equal alacrity:

DEAR MR. JUSTICE HUGHES: I am in receipt of your letter of resignation and feel constrained to yield to your desire. I therefore accept your resignation as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to take effect at once.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Certain characteristics stand revealed by these interesting communications. Mr. Hughes did not "tender his resignation." He resigned. He invited no argument. He stated a fact. His words were not those prescribed by social usage. They were official and, being addressed to a competitor whose policies he was about to assail, they bore no palaver. The President, on the other hand, was, as ever, most polite. It was not "Mr. Justice Hughes, Sir"; it was "Dear Mr. Justice Hughes"—which we think was very nice—and it was neither "Respectfully yours" nor "Yours truly," as per John L. Sullivan, but "Sincerely yours," instead of the customary and nearly invariable "Cordially and sincerely yours"—to our mind, a very fine and most delicate distinction. A careless letter writer might have expressed regret, but clearly the President could not have done

that without incurring danger of being misunderstood. The circumstance which impelled the resignation, moreover, according to the politicians of the Administration, really afforded their chief great pleasure and satisfaction,—and maybe it did; we do not know. That the President felt “ constrained to yield ” to Mr. Justice Hughes’s “ desire ” does not mean to us any questioning of his right under the Constitution, but rather the unconscious effect of habit on the part of one accustomed to confer favors as from on high. They are excellent letters, well judged, admirably constructed and, as we remarked, illuminatingly characteristic.

Simultaneously with the answer to Question No. 1 was dispatched the response to No. 2, which we publish herewith for re-reading and future reference, as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DELEGATES: I have not desired the nomination. I have wished to remain on the bench, but in this critical period of our national history I recognize that it is your right to summon and that it is my paramount duty to respond.

You speak at a time of national exigency transcending merely partisan consideration. You voice the demand for a dominant, thoroughgoing Americanism with firm protective upbuilding policies essential to your peace and security; and to that call in this crisis I cannot fail to answer with the pledge of all that is in me to the service of our country. Therefore I accept the nomination.

I stand for the firm and unflinching maintenance of all the rights of American citizens on land and sea. I neither impugn motives nor underestimate difficulties. But it is most regrettably true that in our foreign relations we have suffered incalculably from the weak and vacillating course which has been taken with regard to Mexico, a course lamentably wrong with regard to both our rights and our duties.

We interfered without consistency, and while seeking to dictate when we were not concerned we utterly failed to appreciate and discharge our plain duty to our own citizens. At the outset of the Administration the high responsibilities of our diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations were subordinated to a conception of partisan requirements and we presented to the world a humiliating spectacle of ineptitude. Belated efforts have not availed to recover the influence and prestige so unfortunately sacrificed, and brave words have been stripped of their force by indecision.

I desire to see our diplomacy restored to its best standards and to have these advanced; to have no sacrifices of national interests to partisan expediency; to have the first ability of the country always at its command, here and abroad, in diplomatic intercourse; to maintain firmly our rights under international law, insisting steadfastly

upon all our rights as neutrals, and fully performing our international obligations; and by the clear correctness and justice of our position and our manifest ability and disposition to sustain them to dignify our place among the nations.

I stand for an Americanism which knows no ulterior purpose; for a patriotism which is single and complete. Whether native or naturalized, of whatever race or creed, we have but one country and we do not for an instant tolerate any division of allegiance.

I believe in making prompt provision to assure absolutely our national security. I believe in preparedness, not only entirely adequate for our defence with respect to numbers and equipment, in both army and navy, but with all thoroughness to the end that in each branch of the service there may be the utmost efficiency under the most competent administrative heads. We are devoted to the ideals of honorable peace. We wish to promote all wise and practical measures for the just settlement of international peace. In view of our abiding ideals, there is no danger of militarism in this country. We have no policies of aggression; no lust for territory; no zeal for strife. It is in this spirit that we demand adequate provision for national defense, and we condemn the inexcusable neglect that has been shown in this matter of first national importance. We must have the strength which self-respect demands, the strength of an efficient nation ready for every emergency.

Our preparation must be industrial and economic as well as military. Our severest test will come after the war is over. We must make a fair and wise readjustment of the tariff, in accordance with sound protective principle, to insure our economic importance and to maintain American standards of living. We must conserve the best interests of labor realizing that in democracy, patriotism and national strength must be rooted in even handed justice. In preventing, as we must, unjust discrimination and monopolistic practices we must still be zealous to assure the foundations of honest business. Particularly should we seek the expansion of foreign trade.

We must not throttle enterprise here or abroad, but rather promote it and take pride in honorable achievement. We must take up the serious problems of transportation, of interstate and foreign commerce in a sensible and candid manner and provide an enduring basis for prosperity by the intelligent use of the constitutional powers of Congress so as adequately to protect the public on the one hand and on the other to conserve the essential instrumentalities of progress.

I stand for the principles of our civil service laws. In every department of government the highest efficiency must be insisted upon. For all laws and programmes are vain without efficient and impartial administration.

I cannot within the limits of this statement speak upon all the

subjects that will require attention. I can only say that I fully indorse the platform you have adopted.

I deeply appreciate the responsibility you impose. I should have been glad to have that responsibility placed upon another. But I shall undertake to meet it, grateful for the confidence you express. I sincerely trust that all former differences may be forgotten and that we may have united effort in a patriotic realization of our national need and opportunity.

I have resigned my judicial office and I am ready to devote myself unreservedly to the campaign.

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

WASHINGTON, June 10.

This was more than an acceptance of a nomination and more than a statement of accepted issues. It was a crisp and definite notification to all concerned that Mr. Hughes is an out-and-out Republican as well as an out-and-out American and that his response to a unanimous call from his party was in no degree dependent upon the favor or disfavor of any other organization or of any individual, whatever might be the consequences to himself. Then he doffed his gown, donned a sack coat, talked to the reporters, took the first train for his native State and began a campaign which promises to be vigorous and sustained, while his uncomfortably restless adversaries were still rubbing their sleepy eyes,—appearing for all the world as one just released from prison whose pent-up energies had suddenly been loosed for the service of his fellow men.

Taking into thoughtful consideration the effect of the weather and other somewhat depressing conditions, we consider that the Democratic convention should be pronounced a success. The power of habit proved to be nearly, if not quite, as strong in St. Louis as the power of silence had shown itself in Chicago. Although to the casual observer there seemed to be little call for discussion, the leaders conferred mysteriously in carefully guarded rooms quite conformably to usage and tradition and the minor satellites appeared no less burdened with responsibilities than usual. Poverty-stricken Tammany made a brave showing and the cohorts of Mr. Roger Sullivan were everywhere in evidence. All, as we anticipated, were united and all rejoicing, some for one reason and some, alas we fear, for another. Senator William Joel Stone alone was troubled in his sleep by a spectre clad in soiled judicial ermine and voiced his right-

eous indignation volubly until he was informed by Mr. Charles F. Murphy that the Democrats of New York contemplated nominating a Supreme Court Justice for Governor. Then he subsided into unwonted calm. As we foresaw, Speaker Clark was prevented from attending by pressure of official duties, but he wrote philosophically to Mr. Hearst's newspapers that "if any gentleman doubts that luck is a great factor in human affairs, let him stroll over to the White House, commune with Woodrow, and be undeceived." It was a somewhat cryptic utterance but was generally accepted as a favorable omen.

We think we said last month that the two militant Secretaries, Messrs. Daniels and Baker, would have general charge of the proceedings by unanimous consent of the President, and so it proved. The Head of the Navy was more in evidence than his colleague but was no more conspicuous, because of the excessive heat which rendered the wearing of his naval cap impracticable. Mr. Baker's advent was awaited with ill-concealed anxiety by those who hoped he would fetch an answer to the query contained in his famous telegram of February 24th, 1916, to wit:

HON. ATLEE POMERENE, UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.: Opinion here (Cleveland) is wholly with the President. He will doubtless save the honor of the country, but cannot something be done to save the party which at present is a dismal failure?

NEWTON D. BAKER.

Bulletins announcing that the War Secretary was "rushing West" with a platform for the Committee on Resolutions to draft were issued at stated intervals, but he was a long time coming because of the difficulty of framing a plank that might win Rooseveltians without shooing away the voters of the Middle West. But he finally arrived in good condition with the platform in his suit-case and the names of Temporary Chairman, Permanent Chairman, Chairman of the National Committee and Chairman of the Finance Committee in his head. A slight difficulty arose from the refusal of the doorkeepers to admit the delegates, but this was quickly resolved and in due time Disappearing Chairman William F. McCombs called the band to order and made an excellent speech whose chief distinction was an inadvertent omission, due doubtless to an oversight, of mention of the Administration or the President.

Temporary Chairman Martin H. Glynn also made a capital address far superior in both substance and form to that of Senator Harding, and Senator James was at his best. Mr. Bryan talked, too, and received an ovation from the office-holders who comprised four-fifths of the convention. But Judge Woodchuck was the prize winner. We knew he would be. He had been four years composing his speech and it showed it. But for lack of space no power could prevent us from printing this remarkable panegyric in full. As it is, our readers must content themselves with the following excerpt from the peroration:

Sons of America, keep unsullied the sacred shrine of peace, through whose portals will yet pass arm in arm the crowned head and the humble peasant in silent worship of God.

Out of the ruins and sufferings of the present conflict will arise a temple of justice whose dome will be the blue vault of heaven; its illuminants the eternal stars; its pillars the everlasting hills; its ornaments the woods and bountiful fields; its music the rippling rills, the song of birds, the laughter of happy childhood; its diapason the roar of mills and the hum of industry; its votaries the peoples of the earth; its creed, on which hangs all the law and the prophets, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Above its altars in ineffaceable color will live eternally the vision of its artificer.

Therefore, my fellow-countrymen, not I, but his deeds and achievements; not I, but the spirit and purpose of America; not I, but the prayers of just men; not I, but civilization itself, nominates to succeed himself to the Presidency of the United States, to the Presidency of a hundred million free people, bound in impregnable union, the scholar, the statesman, the financier, the emancipator, the pacificator, the moral leader of democracy, Woodrow Wilson.

If even the Honorable James E. Martine does not meet his match in Judge Woodchuck at the forthcoming primaries in New Jersey, we wholly miss our guess.

We need not recount the further proceedings. The newspapers have performed their full duty. But the simple and to our mind quite remarkable fact is that a convention, personally conducted from Washington, which opened listlessly, became thoroughly enlivened and the great body of delegates who first entered the hall dispirited and dejected finally left it full of enthusiasm and, if not of confidence, at least of as firm a determination to hold the offices as that of the Republicans to get them.

The only disquieting feature of the gathering was the

absence of Colonel Mouse. We looked all around for him—in the fireplaces, in the corners, under the tablecloth, under the bureau, everywhere in fact that we could think of, we even baited and set a trap near the door; but all to no purpose. We are convinced that Colonel Mouse was not there. In all other respects the Democratic convention shone brightly in comparison with that of the Republicans in Chicago. We are glad that, unlike Senator James A. O’Gorman, Senator Oscar W. Underwood, Speaker Champ Clark, Colonel Henry Watterson, the Honorable Samuel Untermyer, Mr. James B. Regan, and others too few to mention, we went to St. Louis.

So we enter upon a four-months’ campaign which promises well for the Republic. Neither of the two candidates is a superman; neither is as yet or likely to become a popular hero; but each unquestionably personifies the best that his party has to offer—and more could not be expected. That, of course, is the vital and most gratifying fact, but in addition it should be noted that each as a candidate is positively the strongest that could have been named. It is as silly for the Democrats to insist that they wanted Hughes as it would be for the Republicans to say that they would not have preferred another—any other—to Wilson. To those temporarily benumbed supporters of the Administration who demanded the nomination of Roosevelt in order “to make an issue,” which now, alas, cannot be raised between two candidates whose dissimilarities are only physical and facial, we remark blandly that if such be the case the only point to be determined is whether a majority of the voters are Democrats. But such is not the case. We doubt if there exist in America two men descended from the same stock, reared in like environments and educated by a substantially uniform process who bear slighter resemblance, one to the other, temperamentally, constitutionally or morally than Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes. Analysis of their distinguishing traits by way of contrast, which incidentally we shall adventure in due time, should prove at least interesting and, unless we err in our surmise that the ultimate issue will be Character, perhaps important.

Meanwhile, minor issues must find their places and false issues must be eliminated. Chief among the latter raised at the outset by our neighbor the *Sun* is the question of Mr.

Wilson's fidelity with respect to the single-term pledge. As to that, we modestly but firmly refer to the argument contained in *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* for February, 1916. If more remains to be or need be said upon that subject, we frankly confess to a serious impairment of reasoning faculties. No; there is nothing in this point. Mr. Wilson receives his renomination with clean hands.

Then comes "Too proud to fight!" Cannot we forget that? Mr. Wilson used an unhappy phrase at an unfortunate time and has paid the full penalty for his heedlessness. Abroad in particular, even more generally than at home, he has reaped a harvest of jeers—in a measure and within bounds, we admit, deserved. But is it becoming in us as Americans to rejoice in or to encourage the sneering of foreigners at a mere inadvertence on the part of our own President? What Mr. Wilson meant to say was that our great Nation is above yielding to the temptation to utilize its immeasurably superior resources in dealing with weaker peoples, that we would submit to both insult and injury to the limit of human endurance before we would even seem to play the bully,—and he spoke the truth. To interpret his words as implying that either he or the Nation is pusillanimous is to do wilful wrong to our own Chief Magistrate. Everybody knows the interpretation is false. Everybody knows that, whatever may be his deficiencies in other respects, Woodrow Wilson has no lack of daring and would be the last to impugn the high spirit of his country. Again we ask, Cannot we forget or at least ignore "Too proud to fight"? If in a roystering campaign we cannot be expected to be generous or even just, we may at least refuse to sacrifice decency to meanness.

We are less concerned by the *World's* heralding of Mr. Hughes as "the Kaiser's candidate" and pronouncing his declaration that he is an out-and-out American "surprising and amazing." Even the *Times*, which is setting a hot pace for the *World* in supporting the President, has the grace to admit that "Mr. Hughes has done his part to take the hyphen out of politics" and that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes combined have put it out altogether. The *World* itself, too, as late as June 8th, when it was still hoping for Roosevelt and speaking its honest convictions, said with characteristic emphasis:

As for the pretended distrust of Hughes's Americanism, we doubt if there is a single human being outside the walls of an idiot asylum who seriously questions it. Hughes is the same kind of American that Wilson is, that Roosevelt is, that Root is, that Taft is, that every man is who has earned high place in the service of the American people. The questions that have been raised are not even plausibly hypocritical.

Further evidences of the *World's* insincerity might be adduced without number from its own pages. But it really is not worth while. Whatever measure of achievement or comfort the *World* or anybody else can derive from assailing the Americanism of Charles Evans Hughes may be accorded with perfect resignation. Whoever in or out of a lunatic asylum enjoys beating his head against a stone wall should not be denied the privilege. But the *World*, to our certain knowledge, was brought up to know and behave better.

Our other neighbor, the *Times*, for its part, continues to shout at the top of its lungs "Out, out" to the "damned spot" left on the judicial ermine by Mr. Wilson's active competitor's resignation. We have already noted the sharp rebuke administered by the *Times* to the Manchester *Union* for criticizing Mr. Hughes on this very score, but we would not nag a worthy contemporary in distress. Nor have we the heart to call its attention to the simple fact that, in logic and effect, its reprobation bears reflection far less upon the act of Mr. Hughes than upon the judgment of the President who will appoint his successor—perchance "another Brandeis." It may be remarked in passing, however, that the representatives of a large majority of the people have already passed judgment upon this question. Despite the earnest protests of our neighbor, it was not raised by any supporters of competitors for the Republican nomination, was not even referred to by the antagonistic Progressives and was abruptly swept into the dustpan at St. Louis. In any case, in the light of the *Times's* positive assurance that Mr. Hughes "will not be elected"—following closely upon its firm declaration that he would not be nominated—why bother?

But enough! We of independent—not neutral—minds have four long months in which to discuss issues and weigh candidates,—and be assured that the task will be performed with painstaking thoroughness. It goes without saying that, for our part, we shall puncture humbug and deride hypocrisy

whenever and wherever those detestable concomitants of a political campaign may appear. In return for this service to our contemporaries, may we not hope that neither of the candidates be likened to Lincoln? It does not seem as if we could bear it. Hughes is Hughes and Wilson is Wilson,—which should satisfy the partisans of each. So “why,” in the words of Whistler, “lug in Velasquez?”

One word more and we have done. It is an important election, of course, involving issues of great moment to our beloved Republic and to all mankind.

But there is no crisis.

Believe us, guided by either Wilson or Hughes, the country is as safe as a clock.

THE NEW INDEPENDENCE

WE have had the “New Idea,” the “New Nationality,” and the “New Freedom.” Why not the New Independence? For in the beginning Independence was essential to Nationality and to Freedom, and was the chief political Idea. If the superstructure is to be renovated, why not the foundation? The apt warning against putting new wine into old bottles may not inappropriately be adapted to the placing of new edifices upon old foundations. Not that we, ourselves, think that the old foundation or the old superstructure, either, is obsolete or ruinous. But the latter inevitably and most welcomely grows, from year to year and from generation to generation; and it is therefore well to observe to what extent, if any, the former needs enlarging and perhaps strengthening to bear its new responsibilities.

What Independence meant in 1776 all know. It was the severance of all political ties with the Mother Country and the establishment of America as a new sovereignty among the nations of the earth, the full peer of all other nations in privileges, rights and powers. That work was done and well done, and it is in no danger of ever being undone. The danger is that men will not entirely appreciate what it meant, what it implied, and what it entailed upon succeeding generations, even this present, to improve its opportunities and to bring it to full fruition.

The New Independence, which is to be the foundation of our New Nationality and New Freedom and all the New

Ideas of a progressive nation, must first of all comprise what we may term Militant Independence. By that we do not mean militarism. We mean simply a rational national preparedness for defense adequate to the task of maintaining in any contingency the political independence which was won in 1776-83. "They have rights who dare maintain them." But only they can maintain them who have the physical power to do so. To claim rights without the power and resolution to maintain them is foolhardy. Perhaps that must be done by small nations, trusting to the broken staff of treaty and convention. How the rights of small states fare when they stand in the way of a great state's desires, let Belgium and Serbia witness.

Time was when any great degree of preparedness seemed unnecessary. Our detached and isolated position, as Washington phrased it, not only suggested aloofness from European affairs but also afforded a large degree of protection. Nevertheless, the very two statesmen of all who most were identified with the achieving of our original independence, and who most of all dwelt upon the advantages of our remote position, were zealous for the highest possible degree of military preparedness. Washington, who won our independence in the field, was never weary of reminding the nation that the surest means of preserving peace is to be prepared for war. Jefferson urged that military instruction and drill be obligatory in every school and that compulsory military service be required of every able-bodied male citizen.

The fact is that our detached and isolated position no longer exists. Invention has nullified geography, at least so far as latitude and longitude are concerned. The Atlantic Ocean is not as broad to-day as the Hudson River was a century and a third ago. America and Europe are for all practical purposes closer together than New York and New Jersey in Washington's time. An army of a fifth of a million could be transported hither from Europe with less anxiety and uncertainty of result than Washington experienced in crossing the Delaware. In such circumstances nothing can be more reasonable and more desirable than to adopt at least the prescription of Washington and Jefferson, and to assure the Militant Independence of the United States.

Commercial and Industrial Independence also cries aloud to heaven for firm establishment. We are exulting in the vast increase in our foreign trade which has come to us

through the extraordinary demands of the war. But we are dependent upon other nations for the vessels to carry our goods abroad. We insist, properly, upon the right of our citizens to travel on the high seas without molestation. But we are dependent upon other nations for the vessels in which they travel. We are seeking to increase our trade with South America, and through the Isthmian Canal which we have built at so vast a cost. But we are dependent upon other nations for the vessels in which that trade is to be carried. Is it not time that such humiliating and detrimental dependence was ended, and that our Commercial Independence was established?

Today prices of many drugs, including those most used and needed in the *materia medica*, have risen to almost prohibitive figures; because of the difficulty of getting supplies from Germany. To-day many of our most important industries are gravely embarrassed, and indeed some of them are closing their doors, because of the impossibility of getting the needed supplies of dyes and other materials from Germany; and the American Government has recently been placed in the attitude of a suppliant, humbly begging a European nation to grant it the boon of letting a limited invoice of dyes come hither, in order that we may continue to print our paper currency! It is time that such degrading and costly dependence was ended. It is time for the republic to be sufficient unto itself in such things, and to proclaim and to maintain its Industrial Independence.

It ought not to be necessary to demand a new Declaration of Moral and Intellectual Independence; but, judging from recent and even current indications, that is perhaps the greatest need of all. "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence" Washington warned his countrymen in his most earnest tones; but the warning has gone unheeded. Bonvouloir in 1775 boasted that he could make the Continental Congress do whatever he wished, and Vergennes and Luzerne in 1781 said that they had dictated to Congress its choice of a Foreign Secretary. Probably they were partly true and partly false in their pretensions. The boasts of aliens and hyphenates in 1916, that they have dictated the action of Congress and of nominating conventions, may be more false than true. But it is a most repugnant thing to have any such boasts made at all, and it is an ominous and revolting thing to have a great many American citizens be-

lieve that they are true. The thing ought to be so impossible, and its impossibility ought to be so obvious and notorious that any mention of it would be greeted with universal derision, contempt, and execration.

This phase of our Independence, then, urgently needs reassertion, with all possible emphasis. We say "reassertion," for while it might be called a part of the New Independence, it would, like Militant Independence, be merely a harking back to the sane and masterful principles of our first Administration. Washington read to Moustier, Genet and others lectures which they never forgot, and which caused all who had dealings with this country to "sit up and take notice." We need such spirit and such action to-day, as much as it was needed then. The "Gallican" and "Anti-Gallican" or "Anglican" faction in our politics disgraced the closing years of the eighteenth century and almost imperilled the integrity of the young republic. It is high time, it was indeed time a century ago, for such things to be ended and to be forever impossible. It is time for Moral and Intellectual Independence.

Independence Day in 1916 will be more profitable if it turns the thoughts of the nation, and its inflexible resolution, to these things, than if it is devoted to a mere rehearsing of the indictment of George III. and of what Rufus Choate called the "glittering and sounding generalities" of the Declaration of Independence. The cold, cubical, concrete fact is that they will be "glittering and sounding generalities" and nothing more unless we make of them a practical and specific application to every changing need and exigency of our national life and growth. The Independence for present consideration is not that which was declared in 1776 and was achieved in 1783, but rather that which is needed in 1916.

THE RACE NOT GOING MAD

LET us be tranquil. The human race is not all going mad. Nor are those divisions of it which enjoy the highest intellectual and social culture, and therefore, as some say, suffer the highest mental pressure and the tensest nervous strain, immediately doomed to hopeless insanity. It is true that some statistics are somewhat startling; or are made to appear so, which is a very different thing. But recollect-

tions of a few of the innumerable interpretations and demonstrations of the Number of the Apocalyptic Beast admonish us that of a truth "things are not always what they seem."

A recent report of the Board of Lunacy Control of Great Britain, for example, has created a considerable sensation and set headline-writers and paragraphers, not to mention supposedly profound students of sociology, to exploiting with woful forebodings the appalling increase of insanity in the United Kingdom. It appears that in 1859 there were 185 lunatics in every hundred thousand of the population, and that in 1915 the number had risen to 377, or had a trifle more than doubled in fifty-six years; from which it is cheerfully computed that if things keep on at that rate, the year 2350 will see the entire population on the British Isles in Bedlam.

Doubtless; though there is much virtue in an "if." It will, however, be well for the maniac to refrain from calling the lunatic mad; since in the race for Bedlam Brother Jonathan is easily outstripping Brother John. Over here it does not take anything like fifty-six years to double—statistically—the number of insane. In 1890 we had 118 insane in every hundred thousand, and in 1910 the number had risen to 204; so that if we keep on at that rate, increasing the number of insane nearly 73 per cent. in twenty years, we shall all be mad about two centuries before our British cousins.

Indeed, the United States is already, in spots—and in some pretty big spots—about as badly off in mind as the United Kingdom; and in the central spot of all it is much worse off. For while it seems rather serious for the latter country to have 377 madmen in every hundred thousand, we had in the District of Columbia twenty years ago no fewer than 649, and at the census of 1910 that number had risen to 873. Of course, there is Congress; but that does not account for it, since both Senators and Representatives are charged against their home States! Some of the chief States, too, are nearly as unbalanced, mentally, as Great Britain. Massachusetts in 1910 pleaded the possession of 344.6 insane in every hundred thousand, and New York 343.2, while California, at the other rim of the continent, had 279.8.

There is much instructive significance, however, in the comparisons, or the contrasts, among the various States. Thus in 1890 the number to the hundred thousand in New Hampshire was reported to be only 90.8, while in Vermont,

right alongside and with very similar social conditions, it was 144.7. In New York it was 224, and in the adjoining and similar State of Pennsylvania it was only 119. In Arkansas it was only 34.6, while in Kentucky it was 107.1. In Washington it was 97.6, and in Oregon 176.6, and in California 272.2. In Colorado it was 58, and in Montana 130.1. In Indiana it was 82, and in Ohio 135.1; in Wisconsin 81.7 and in Michigan 132.3; in South Dakota 70.6 and in North Dakota 109.5. It would be quite impossible to maintain the proposition that there was any difference, natural or artificial, between the members of these various pairs of States, sufficient to cause so enormous a difference between the respective mental conditions of their inhabitants. States lying side by side, with the same soil, climate and industries, inhabited by people of the same race, and with practically the same laws, customs and morals, simply cannot differ so widely in sanity.

There are similar contrasts in rates of increase of lunacy. In the twenty years from 1890 to 1910 the number to the hundred thousand in Maine rose from 92.6 to 169.5, and that in the immediately adjacent and similar State of New Hampshire from 90.8 to 211.1. That in Pennsylvania rose from 119 to 196.4, and that in Delaware from 84.3 to 218. The figures in Louisiana rose from 54.4 to 130.3, and in Georgia from 81.1 to only 120. California's made only the slightest rise, from 272.2 to 279.8, while Washington's leaped from 97.6 to 174, and Colorado's from 58 to 150.1. Michigan's rose from 132.3 to 238.4, and Wisconsin's from 81.7 to 282.2. While South Dakota's more than doubled, from 70.6 to 148, North Dakota's actually fell, from 109.5 to 108.8.

These differences cannot be real. They are merely apparent, and the appearance of them is due to a number of circumstances. One of the chief of these is, no doubt, the statutory system of caring for the insane. The figures cited are those of the number of persons living in asylums or hospitals for the insane. It is well known that some States make much more generous provisions for such unfortunates than others, and that therefore in them the insane are much more generally cared for in such institutions. As a result those States are charged with a much greater number of lunatics than are the States with less provision for them, although the actual number may be the same. If a State had no asylums whatever, but had all its insane inhabitants cared

for in their own homes, it would figure in the census statistics as having no lunatics at all. That, no doubt, is one of the reasons why the ratio of reported insane is so much higher in New England and the Middle and Middle Western States than it is in the Southern States. The difference is not in the actual number of deranged persons, but in the extent to which they are domiciled in institutions, or are kept at home.

If thus the contrasts among States are largely to be accounted for, there is an equally convincing explanation of the generally considerable increase in the number of reported insane, which does not imply so great an actual increase, if indeed any at all. That is, the great change, which is chiefly though perhaps not entirely improvement, in alienistic diagnosis. Very many persons are now declared to be insane and are committed to asylums, who a generation ago were regarded as merely "queer" or "eccentric" and remained in their homes, and perhaps pursued freely their vocations. Many others are suffering from nervous strain, from overwork, dissipation, or what not, and have voluntarily gone for a time to institutions euphemistically called neuropathic or psychopathic sanitariums, which in the census are classed as hospitals or asylums and the inmates of which are reckoned among the insane.

It is well known that striking changes in other vital statistics are susceptible of similar explanation. There were probably as many cases of appendicitis a generation or two ago as there are now, but they did not figure under that name in the reports, since that name was not then in common use. So the apparent increase in cases of paresis is largely caused by the application of that name to cases which formerly would have been called softening of the brain or something else. The changes have been in nomenclature, in diagnosis, in disposition, and not in the actual health of the people. We may rest assured, then, that there is no such ominous increase in the actual prevalence of insanity as the statistics seem to indicate, neither in Great Britain nor in the United States. Some increase there may be, due to unhealthful domestic, social and business conditions and customs, and this may be sufficient to be worthy of emphasis, for admonition against indulgence in the conditions which are at fault. The more highly organized and cultivated—not to say, sophisticated—society becomes, the more susceptible to disturbance do

psychic elements become, and the greater is the strain which the nerves and brain suffer. Yet at the same time it should be possible, not only amid but actually because of those very conditions and circumstances, to develop and increase psychical stamina and resistant powers.

The pretense that a degree of insanity is essential to intellectual genius cannot be maintained. Doubtless some geniuses have been eccentric, and a few have actually been insane; though in a far greater number of cases eccentricity has been assumed and affected by mediocrities in the hope of thus winning the reputation of genius, or has been imputed without warrant in fact, by romantic and exaggerating adulators or biographers. Moreover, for every real genius who has verged upon insanity, or has even really had marked eccentricities, there have been several equally great who have been indisputably sane, methodical, moral, and conformed to the established order of society. For every Nietzsche there are several Spencers and Huxleys. And if thus mental aberration is not necessary to the highest attainments in the individual, neither is it in the community, the State or the race. We may proceed with all possible inventions and culture and refinements of social existence, without sending the community, the State or the race to the madhouse.

OUR SHIPS AND SOME OTHERS

AGAIN we boast. The battleship *Pennsylvania* has been put into commission. It is the most powerful fighting machine in our navy. That, however, is not enough to say of it. We are assured, with ingenious and persistent iteration, that it is the most powerful in the world. True, there are others of far greater horse-power; but the *Pennsylvania* is the most powerful. There are others of far greater speed; but the *Pennsylvania* is the most powerful. There are others which carry heavier guns; but the *Pennsylvania* is the most powerful. There are several which surpass the *Pennsylvania* in all three of these respects; but the *Pennsylvania* is the most powerful. We hope that it is true.

It is not grateful nor gracious to argue against our own, or to challenge our alleged superiority. But greatness does not consist in merely saying that we are great. We should

resent "a certain condescension in foreigners" which would patronizingly remit us and ours to inferiority; but we should also deprecate a certain bumptiousness in nationals which would laud everything that we have as the best in the world simply because it is ours. It will be well for us all to reckon ourselves "from Missouri" and to insist upon ocular demonstration of our greatness.

The *Pennsylvania* is undoubtedly a magnificent ship. We wish there were two dozen like it in the navy. But to the mere landlubber there does seem reason to ask for further proof than a mere "say so" of its superiority over the several vessels of the *Queen Elizabeth* class. It is admitted that the *Pennsylvania's* guns are of only fourteen inches caliber, against the *Queen Elizabeth's* fifteen, but it is insisted that the former are of as great range and as effective as the latter. That may be, but if so it is very surprising and puzzling to the layman. If a fourteen-inch gun is as effective as a fifteen, then is a thirteen as good as a fourteen, and a twelve as good as a thirteen, and so on down the scale? If so, we shall presently find ourselves declaring, according to one of Euclid's axioms, that a two-inch gun is as effective as one of fifteen inches.

A similar line of argument applies to the matter of speed. The 31,500 horse power of the *Pennsylvania* drives its 31,400 tons at the rate of 21 knots, while the 58,000 horse power of the *Queen Elizabeth* drives its 27,500 tons at the rate of 25 knots. We are told, it is true, that speed is not the prime consideration. Perhaps not. But it is an important consideration, and, other things being equal, it is a decisive consideration. Superiority of even a single knot would mark one vessel as superior to another if they were equal in all other respects. Superiority of four knots is far too wide a margin to be overlooked.

It is boasted that the *Pennsylvania* has oil-burning engines, which increase her radius of action 40 per cent for the same weight of fuel over coal-burning vessels. That may be quite true. But we must remember that the *Queen Elizabeth* and all the six vessels of its type also have oil-burning engines, so that we can claim nothing better than equality with them in that respect. It is said, too, that the *Pennsylvania* is the most heavily protected ship in the world, with an armor belt 13½ inches thick. But the *Queen Eliz-*

abeth and more than a dozen other British ships also have 13½-inch armor, so that in that particular, also, our best claim is nothing more than equality. The *Pennsylvania* is not "the most heavily protected," but merely one of the most heavily.

So in the last analysis this is the statement of the case: The two ships are equal in defensive armor, and in steaming radius. But the British ship steams 25 knots to the American's 21, and throws a main broadside of 17,600 pounds in 15-inch projectiles to our 16,800 pounds in 14-inch projectiles. How the *Pennsylvania* can be the more formidable, with 4.76 per cent inferiority in weight of broadside and 19 per cent inferiority in speed, is "one of those things no fellow can find out," at least without a more lucid and convincing demonstration than has yet been given.

We are not kill-joys. We would not unduly depreciate anything American. But we do not believe in living in a fool's paradise, and in deceiving ourselves into believing that our ship is the most formidable in the world when, or if, it is not; and we cannot see how it can be the most formidable in the circumstances which we have described. Twenty-one knots are not swifter than 25, and 16,800 pounds are not heavier than 17,600. That is the whole story.

What we should like to see is the building of ships for our navy which are indisputably in all essential respects at least the equals of any others in the world—in speed, in guns, in armor, and in radius of action. Why not? Our *Pennsylvania* is considerably bigger in displacement than the *Queen Elizabeth*. Why could it not have been equipped with as powerful engines, which would drive it at as high a rate of speed? And why could it not have been provided with as big guns, which would throw as heavy a broadside and throw it as far? Here we are putting into commission in 1916, and boasting of as "the last word in super-dreadnought building," a ship which is only a trifle stronger than the ships which Great Britain completed three years ago. Why, the original *Dreadnought*, commissioned away back in 1906, was as speedy as our *Pennsylvania*. Must we be content to follow along a few years behind other nations? Such a policy may suit Sir Josephus Daniels. It is not pleasing to the American people.

TRADE AND THE WAR

THE "Influence of Sea Power in History" looms large. It is not, however, invariably military power. The dreadnought, the battle cruiser, the destroyer and the submarine all play their part: but the liner, the freighter and the tramp have their parts, too; and in the present case their parts seem dominant. What is the explanation of the importunate—and also impudent—German demand in a recent note that, in return for Teutonic cessation from murder of American women and children at sea, the United States shall require the Allies to relax their blockade of German trade? The Russians, who a year ago were armed with nothing but bludgeons and knives and stones, and so had to retreat before the Teutons, are now well armed and equipped with so vast a profusion of the munitions of war that they have been able to drive the Austrian armies before them with such a storm of cannonading as not even Verdun could surpass. The reason is writ large in the current reports of the American Department of Commerce.

The first and most obvious fact is the destruction of German trade. In 1913, the year before the war, we exported to Austria-Hungary goods to the value of \$23,320,696. In the ten months ending with April of last year this had fallen to \$1,219,924. That was a tremendous decline. But the Allied blockade was not yet fully effective. When it was applied in all its stringency, the result was marked. In the ten months ending with April of this year our exports to Austria-Hungary were only \$152,916. There was a similar process in the case of Germany, even more marked. In 1913 she took from us goods valued at \$331,684,212. In the ten months of the last fiscal year she took only \$28,861,187, and in the corresponding period of the present fiscal year, \$283,385. These figures are eloquent of the deprivation of supplies which Germany now suffers.

The deprivation has not been total, however. Germany has secured vast volumes of imports from the United States by way of the neutral countries which border upon her. She found it easy to have goods shipped to Holland, to Denmark and to Sweden, professedly for those countries, and then have them sent across the border, or across the Baltic, to her. How great was this trade, and how much it has now been decreased by the strenuous vigilance of the Allies, a

few figures will show. Before the war, in 1913, our shipments to Denmark were only \$18,687,794. Their highest figure was in 1907, when they exceeded \$23,000,000. But in the first ten months of the fiscal year 1915 they leaped to \$70,549,822, an increase of more than three hundred per cent. It would have been absurd to pretend that all that increased volume of goods was wanted and would be consumed in Denmark itself. The bulk of it was intended for Germany and was sent straight across the German frontier. Seeing this, the Allies established a censorship over Danish trade and in the first ten months of the present fiscal year reduced imports from America to \$46,983,907. That was a great reduction from 1915, but it still left Danish-American trade twice as great as ever before.

There was a similar record in the case of Sweden. Before the war we sent thither a maximum of \$12,104,366, in 1913. But in the first ten months of 1915 Sweden took from us \$71,911,063; and the Baltic ferries were busy. The Allies applied the blockade, and the figures fell to \$46,394,910 in 1916; still leaving a large margin to Germany's good. The case of Holland is somewhat different. In 1913 she took from us \$125,909,862. But not all of that was for home use. A large proportion of it was destined for Germany, to which empire Holland is a natural gateway. So great was the trade of Holland that no attempt was made to increase it during the war. Instead, it remained for a time almost stationary, in the first ten months of 1915 amounting to \$122,691,172. But the Allies took measures to exclude much of what was destined for Germany, with the result that in the ten months of the present fiscal year the sum was only \$80,408,549. Germany, therefore, not only has lost practically all her direct trade with the United States, but also she has lost a large share of the indirect, by way of her neutral neighbors. There can be little doubt that this deprivation has caused much stringency in supplies, and probably much popular distress and a handicap upon military operations.

At the same time our traffic with the Allies has been increasing to an extraordinary degree. In 1913 our exports to France were \$146,100,201. In the ten months of the last fiscal year they were \$276,576,310, and in the corresponding part of the present year, \$477,615,253. That is to say, they have considerably more than trebled. The same is true of Italy. Her figures are: 1913, \$76,285,278; 1915 (10 months),

\$158,153,469; 1916 (10 months), \$220,605,330. So with the United Kingdom. In 1913 we sent thither \$597,149,059. In the first ten months of 1915 we sent \$724,941,561, and in the first ten months of the fiscal year 1916, the stupendous sum of \$1,185,680,135. These figures, by the way, are an impressive reply to Germany's boast of a submarine blockade of the British Isles!

Most significant of all in some respects are the Russian figures, for the empire in both Europe and Asia. In 1913 our exports were only \$26,465,214. In the ten months of 1915 they rose a little, to \$35,221,431; but Russian soldiers were still without arms and ammunition. But in the first ten months of the fiscal year 1916, ending with April, Russia's receipts from America made the astounding leap to \$229,442,203. No wonder that the Slavic legions were abundantly provided with all the munitions of war, for their great drive into Bukowina and Galicia, and that they were there able to employ "curtains of fire" rivalling those of the western battle front.

Thus the effect of the war upon commerce, and the effect of commerce upon the war, are equally notable. The latter may indeed prove to be by far the greater. It is scarcely supposable that the former will be permanent. Our trade with Germany has been suspended, not abolished for all time. Our trade with the Allies has been enormously increased, but the bulk of the gain is only temporary. But the effect of trade upon the war, in depriving one side of indispensable supplies and in giving the other all that it needs, may well prove decisive of the outcome of the contest. Just as it was the sea power of the North that, more even than Grant's and Sherman's armies, destroyed the Southern Confederacy, so it may well be the sea power of the Allies, in depriving Germany of needed supplies and in securing for themselves all supplies that are desired, that will prove the deciding factor in the War of the Nations.

THE CLOSING DOOR IN CHINA

THE Chinese door seems to be closing. We mean the door of American opportunity. It is a circumstance which probably few have noticed, for the events of the War of the Nations overshadow everything else, and cause us to ignore

things which, without the war, would be regarded as of paramount importance. It is true that the Chinese revolution, which first gave the empire a constitution and then overthrew the empire and established a republic, occurred before the war in Europe. But since then, during the war, have occurred two more revolutions, by one of which the republic was subverted and the monarchy was restored, and by the other the monarchy was again abolished and the republic was rehabilitated. And still later has come the death of the President, who was called by exaggeration the Strong Man of China, with the succession of the Vice-President to the headship of the state.

In all these things America should have been China's next friend. As the premier republic in the world, this country should have been foremost in welcoming China into the fellowship of republics, and in encouraging her to remain constant in the republican faith. This is suggested by both ancient tradition and recent practice. The United States years ago took the beneficent lead in establishing the open door, the integrity of the empire, and equality of opportunity; in saving the empire from the Boxer outbreak; and in returning to China an unjustly exacted indemnity. Those and other like things ingratiated the United States with China, and secured for us an opportunity to enter into peculiarly intimate and mutually beneficent relations with the most populous nation in the world.

That opportunity has been neglected, if not entirely sacrificed and lost. It is lamentable that it is so, but so it is. The United States did not improve the opportunity at the outset, in the recognition of the Chinese Republic. Its non-participation in the Chinese loan impaired American prestige and drove the Chinese to look to other nations as better friends. When danger of monarchical restoration came upon the republic America did not go to the rescue with moral support, but left it to Great Britain, Russia and, of course, Japan, to offer admonition and advice. The chief American republic was strangely careless of the fate of the Asian republic.

Nor was our course what it should have been and might have been in the case of Japan's extraordinary demands upon China, the enforcement of which would make the whole of China dependent upon Japan if not an actual appanage of that country. It is quite true that our Administration

wrote a number of polite notes upon the subject; as upon other subjects with like lack of results. It was all very well for this country to say that it would not recognize the legality of any arrangement which violated its treaty rights in China. So it had written in other notes of holding another nation to "strict accountability."

There never yet has been secured any satisfactory assurance that Japan has abandoned her designs. On the contrary, there are strong reasons for believing that she still persists in them, and that she has received from both Great Britain and Russia a free hand to do as seems good to her in China. That her purpose is monopoly is not for a moment to be questioned. The fulfilling of her demands by China will mean the practical closing of the door of commerce and industry in our faces. In any case, the prestige of America in China has fallen to about its lowest point.

Yet we have had for the last two years an unequalled chance to win a paramount place in China. The other nations have been busy with their war. We have been free. We could have promoted our own interests in China without any embarrassment from the rivalry of others. It was the opportunity of a lifetime. We all remember how the European Powers sought to take advantage of our engagement in the war with Spain to undertake the virtual partitioning of China, on plans which would have shut us out altogether. Happily the shrewd policy of President McKinley baffled them and saved us our place in the Chinese sun. Now there was a chance for us to play a return game, by taking advantage of their absorption in the big war to confirm beyond challenge our place and power in China. But we did not do it.

It might be asked why this was and is so. Has the futility of our policy toward Mexico been reflected upon our relations elsewhere? Has our paltering course toward some of the European belligerents so affected us as to induce a like course in all other great foreign matters? It would almost seem so. It would look as though we had, in Belgium's case, become so habituated and reconciled to seeing a solemn treaty regarded as "a scrap of paper" that we are quite acquiescent in similar treatment of other international obligations, even of the Open Door in China. If so, the malign influence of Mr. Bryan has extended further than was at first supposed. It should even now, before it is too

late, be possible for the Administration to throw off that incubus and to assert a strong and aggressive, though, of course, fair and benevolent policy in China. We should not permit ourselves to be brushed aside from the Chinese problem as a negligible quantity. If the war hampers the nations which are engaged in it and prevents their active intervention in China, it certainly should not be permitted thus to affect the United States. Our hands are free, to labor diplomatically for the maintenance of the open door, integrity of territory, and equality of opportunity. We have kept them idle too strangely long. But there is still time for us to get at work. We surely should not be crowded out of China, nor have closed in our faces the door which we opened for all the world.